Well thank you, Madam Chairman. And thank

all of you for the kind personal words. And I am working on the

winter wardrobe, and looking forward to those wonderful winters

in Syracuse, but also the beautiful springs, summers and falls.

I am grateful for the opportunity to meet with the committee to

update you on developments in Libya and to answer the important

questions that you all have raised this morning and in other discussions.

I will not cover them all in my opening statement, but I

look forward to them in the rest of our discussions.

And I want to begin by echoing a sentiment that so many of you

have echoed, which is our gratitude toward the men and women

who are serving the country so bravely and so skillfully, as they

always do.

In a speech on Monday night, President Obama laid out our

goals and strategy for Libya and the wider Middle East. On Tuesday,

Secretary Clinton met with our allies and partners in London,

as well as representatives of the Libyan Transitional National

Council, and yesterday she and Secretary Gates briefed members

of both the House and the Senate. And I am going to take this opportunity

today to underline their comments and to continue the

valuable exchange between the administration and Congress that

has been ongoing since shortly after Colonel Ghadafi’s regime

began to resort to violence against its own people.

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Let me begin by reviewing why we are a part of this broad international

effort. As the President said, and I quote, ‘‘The United

States has played a unique role as an anchor of global security and

as an advocate for human freedom. When our interests and values

are at stake, we have a responsibility to act.’’

This crises began when the Libyan people took to the streets in

peaceful protest to demand their universal human rights and Colonel

Ghadafi’s security forces responded with extreme violence. The

U.N. Security Council acted by unanimously approving Resolution

1970 on February 26th which demanded an end to the violence and

referred the situation to the International Criminal Court while

imposing a travel ban and asses freeze on the family of Ghadafi

and Libyan Government officials. Rather than respond to the international

community’s demand for an end to the violence, Ghadafi’s

forces continued their violence.

With this imminent threat bearing down on them, the people of

Libya appealed to the world for help. The Gulf Cooperation Council

and the Arab League called for the establishment of a no fly zone.

Acting with our partners in NATO, the Arab World and the African

members of the Security Council, we passed Resolution 1973 on

March 17th which demanded an immediate cease-fire including an

end to the current attacks against civilians, which it said might

constitute ‘‘crimes against humanity,’’ imposed a ban on all flights

in the country’s airspace, and authorized the use of all necessary

measures to protect civilians and tightened sanctions on Ghadafi’s

regime. As his troops pushed toward Benghazi, a city of nearly

700,000 people, Ghadafi again defied the international community

declaring, ‘‘We will have no mercy and no pity.’’ Based on his decades-

long history of brutality, we had little choice but to take him

at his word. Stopping a potential humanitarian disaster of massive

proportions became a question of hours, not days. And so we acted

decisively to prevent a potential massacre.

All of this has been accomplished consistent with President

Obama’s pledge to the American people that our military role

would be limited, that we would not put ground troops into Libya,

that we would focus on our unique capabilities on the front end of

the operation and then transfer responsibility to our allies and

partners. The President defined the military mission succinctly at

the outset, and in his words, ‘‘The international community made

clear that all attacks against civilians had to stop: Ghadafi had to

stop his forces from advancing on Benghazi; pull them back from

Ajdabiya, Misrata, and Zawizya; and establish water, electricity

and gas supplies to all areas. Finally, humanitarian assistance had

to be allowed to reach the people of Libya.’’

As we meet this morning, the North Atlantic Council with coalition

partners fully at the table, has taken on full responsibility for

the United Nations-mandated action against Libya, that includes

enforcing a no fly zone, policing an arms embargo in the Mediterranean,

and carrying out targeted air strikes, as part of a U.N. mandate

‘‘to take all necessary action’’ to protect civilians.

As NATO assumes command and control of military operations,

we are confident the coalition will keep the pressure on Ghadafi’s

remaining forces until he fully complies with Resolution 1973. And

we will support our allies and partners in this effort.

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We became involved in this effort because, as the President said

on Monday night, we have an important strategic interest in

achieving this objective. A massacre could drive tens of thousands

of additional refugees across Libya’s borders, putting enormous

strains on the peaceful, yet fragile, democratic transitions in Egypt

and Tunisia. It would undercut democratic aspirations across the

region and embolden repressive leaders to believe that violence is

the best strategy to cling to power. It would undermine the credibility

of the Security Council and our ability to work with others

to uphold peace and security. That is why the President concluded

that the failure to act in Libya would carry too great a price.

Many have asked, and many of you this morning have asked,

why Libya and not in other cases; why where we have seen forced

use against civilians? Again, as the President said on Monday, in

this particular country, Libya, at this particular moment we were

faced with the prospect of violence on a prolific scale. We had a

unique ability to stop that violence, an international mandate for

action, a broad coalition prepared to join us, the support of Arab

countries and a plea for help from the Libyan people themselves.

We had the ability to stop Ghadafi’s forces in their tracks without

putting American troops on the ground.

If I may, Madam Chairman, just briefly want to address three

non-military elements of our strategy.

First, on the humanitarian front, we are working with NATO,

the EU and the U.N. and other international organizations to get

aid to people who need it. The United States Government has provided

$47 million to meet humanitarian needs.

The second track is to continue ratcheting up pressure and further

isolate Colonel Ghadafi and his associates. The Contract

Group on Monday sent a strong international message that we

must move forward with a representative democratic transition

and that Ghadafi has lost legitimacy to lead, and must go.

But President Obama has been equally firm that our military operation

has a narrowly-defined mission that does not include regime

change. If we tried to overthrow Ghadafi by force, the coalition

could splinter. It might require deploying U.S. troops on the

ground and could significantly increase the chances of civilian casualties.

As the President said, we have been down this road before

and we know the potential for unexpected costs and unforeseen

dangers.

The approach we are pursuing in Libya has succeeded before, as

we saw in the Balkans. Our military intervention in Kosovo was

also carefully focused on civilian protection and not regime change.

Could I just finish this last point, Madam Chairman?

Because I know that members are interested.

Because I want to remind us that though the military operation in

Kosovo ended with the end of the humanitarian crises and the

withdrawal of forces, we kept the pressure on and 1 year from the

time that the military operation ended, Milosevic deposed and on

his way to The Hague.

Well thank you, Madam Chairman. I think, as

you know, Secretary Clinton has taken a very strong personal interest

in Pan Am 103 victims. It has been very close to her personally

and she has a peak commitment there.

And, as I think you know, the Department of Justice has a considerable

interest in a number of these issues. Because there are

ongoing investigations, I am not in a position to comment on them,

but the Department of Justice is very actively involved in reviewing

that and seeing whether there are actions that it needs to take.

We obviously take this decision by the Libyan Foreign Minister

very seriously. It is an indication that some of the efforts that we

are making to try to put pressure on the regime, can be successful.

And I think while we should not overstate the significance of this,

we should not also understate the fact that someone with such a

long association with the regime has seen that there is no future

there.

The British are beginning to question him. This is, obviously, a

development of less than 24 hours so I can’t say in more detail. But

we take the point that you have raised and it is something that we

take as an obligation very seriously.

Well, thank you, Mr. Berman. And I am sure I

will have an opportunity to discuss the issues you raised in terms

of the authorities in the courses of conversation so I will go directly

to your questions.

First, with respect to what the Transitional National Council. I

think we have deepened our engagement with them, we have had

a great deal of contact with them. We are in the process of sending

a special representative to meet with them in Eastern Libya. We

obviously want to be supportive of the efforts of those who are trying

to achieve democracy there. At the same time, we need to understand

better about who they are and what their aspirations are.

We very much welcome the statements they have made in the

last couple of days, both in making their commitments to democracy

and the very strong condemnation they have made and disassociations

with al-Qaeda that they made yesterday, which is a

very positive sign. But before we move forward to formal recognition,

I think it is important for us to have a better understanding

of their goals, objectives, their representativeness and the like.

In Misrata we have had some success in achieving some humanitarian

access, and it is an important objective. There have been

ships that have gotten in by sea, but it is something that we continue

to pursue.

Well, thank you, Madam Chairman.

With that understanding, because I am not sure that we will

have all the detail present, but we certainly can give you a basic

sense of what we will be looking for.

Thank you, Mr. Smith, for those very good questions.

First, on the no ground troops issue. I certainly understand your

point, and having grappled with this issue in the context of the

questions a decade ago, I appreciate the point behind that.

I believe this is a slightly different set of circumstances, in part

because of the very strong conviction of our partners in the Arab

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League and the neighbors about the risks associated with having

U.S. forces on the ground there. And I think it is very important

that as a part of our overall strategy that we have tried to make

sure that this is a humanitarian intervention, that this is one that

has broad support, and this is not somehow an set of outsiders.

So, understanding that normally we do not like to preclude these

things, I think that there is a compelling case in this one instance,

and I do think it has broad support among the American people.

So, I think we could make the case while it may not generally be

the right way to go, that in this case it was justified.

There is language in the Security Council resolution

that talks about occupation forces, and one could have a discussion

about what that constitutes. But I think that at least our

decision is based on our own national policy decision.

In terms of knowing who they are, I think it is important to understand

that we did not intervene explicitly on the side of the

Transitional National Council. We intervened to prevent this humanitarian

catastrophe. But at the same time as part of a broader

strategy, we do want to see an inclusive democratic transition take

place. And we are hopeful that the Transitional National Council

can be the core of something that leads to that barter group. I

think the Council itself would recognize that it does not fully represent

all the people of Libya and that if we are going to move forward,

it needs to be more inclusive.

We have been very concerned about the issue of human rights

and those assurances that you have been seeking, Congressman,

and you have a long commitment to that. That is one of the reasons

why we engage very closely with them and are very encouraged

by the statements they issued both Monday in London and

then yesterday, both with respect to their commitment on democratic

transformation inclusiveness and respect for human rights

and their strong condemnation of terrorism in general, and their

distancing themselves from any association with al-Qaeda. These

are obviously important commitments. We have to make sure that

they are being honored in the fact as well as the words. But I think

as several of you have said, the more we engage with them, I think

the more influence we are likely to have. And that is one of the

reasons why I think it is important that we engage.

And while, as I mentioned to Congressman Berman, we are not

at the stage where we think recognition is desirable, we have deepened

our engagement with them including sending a representative

on the ground.

On bad weather and the military operations. I have long since

learned that I would prefer to defer to my military colleagues on

that, except to say that operations do continue. I did check-in just

before we came, and the operations even as we move forward with

the transition, that these efforts are underway.

Yes. Obviously, it is something that we are concerned

about. We know the past record and one cannot dispute

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this. Obviously, that is one of the reasons why we think it is important

for this transition to take place and why we believe at the end

of the day that Ghadafi should go.

Thank you, Congressman Payne.

We are aware of, of course, that along the lines you have discussed.

I do not think we can confirm it, but because in general we

would not want to see that happen, we have made clear to the

Transitional National Council that we would concerned about that

and that they need to do a very good job of demonstrating that they

are not like Ghadafi and that they do provide human rights and

decent treatment to all people involved.

More broadly, we have been concerned about the possibility that

Ghadafi would seek to use mercenaries. Again, there is conflicting

reports about how many or how important it is. But we have been

working with a number of countries in the region, particularly from

Africa, to try to dissuade them and discourage providing mercenaries.

If I could, just because of your longstanding interest in that, but

I would like to say a word about Coˆte d’Ivoire too in answer to Congressman

Burton because we are very deeply involved in that. As

many of you know, the U.N. Security Council just passed a new

resolution on Coˆte d’Ivoire. We have been a leader in recognizing

President Ouattara and working with ECOWAS, the West African

countries, and AU to see that transition move forward.

Unlike Libya, however, we have not seen a call by the African

regional organizations or sub-regional organizations for military

engagement. So we have different tools for different circumstances,

but that does not mean that we are not engaged and we are not

supportive of that democratic transition.

Congressman, I have not heard anything specifically

to that point, but we have had positive discussions about

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them about their support for what we are doing and trying to make

this a success for all of us.

In general, we have taken the position that the assets that have

been frozen are for the benefit of the Libyan people, and so we are

there to be a democratic transition and that will be a decision that

they make.

I think, Congressman, we would welcome a representative

government from Libya taking that position.

Well thank you, Congressman.

First of all, thank you very much for your support. It is obviously

very much appreciated.

And second, I think as you said, I think there is a strong sentiment

that there are a real resonance among the Libyan people. It

is only anecdotal, but I think all of us were very touched by the

way in which our two downed pilots were treated when they were

supported and helped by the people who they were trying to help.

And I think that is a real reflection of the recognition of what we

are trying to do here.

I think that as we go forward this is an important set of principles.

And we have made clear, first, that we do expect and work

to the Council and new representative government to reject extremism,

to reject terrorism. And the statement that the Council

made yesterday was a very welcome and very explicit and very

clear statement.

Again, certainly we reiterate the presence of we

have no plans or intention to put ground troops in Libya.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. And if you do, we just note you will lose the

support of many of us who are now supporting your efforts if your

plans include sending combat troops an putting them on the

ground in Libya.

Thank you very much.

Well, Congressman, as I mentioned earlier, we

were very appreciative of the clear statement that the Transitional

National Council made yesterday.

Congressman, again, looking a what we know we

do not see signs of significant cooperation between the Transitional

National Council and——

No, I am not. I am not. No.

I do not——

Congressman, again, I think if we want to get

into the details, I think we could have a further conversation in a

closed session on this. But what we can say publicly——

But I think we share your concern. I think that

it is important that we have stressed this time and time again——

Congressman, as I said earlier, we are engaged

with areas in defense of Libyan people. It is not on behalf of——

I cannot agree with that.

I cannot agreed with that characterization. We

are defending the civilians in——

Congressman, in my future life I will be spending

a lot of time dealing with hypotheticals. But I do not know

what the situation will be——

The position of the administration is that we

have consulted with Congress. That we have notified Congress——

The position of the administration is that the action

that we took in this case, which is an action——

Congressman, it is not a question that can be

answered in the abstract. The application of any provision applies——

Again, Congressman, I think it is a question that

cannot be answered in the abstract.

Our President has certain constitutional powers,

which he has exercised——

Congressman, at this point the assistance we

have given has been humanitarian assistance. We have given about

$47 million in humanitarian assistance.

On the military side, I know Secretary Gates is testifying this

morning, and I would defer to him on what the military costs are.

In terms of going forward, this is a conversation

that we are having with the Transitional National Council in terms

of what might be appropriate assistance. We made no commitments.

We need to understand better what they are and, obviously,

this is something that we will continue to consult with you as the

opportunity emerges.

Congressman, under the Security Council resolution

the assets that we have frozen are frozen for the benefit of the

Libyan people.

I think I will answer two parts of the question

first, because you did raise the jamming issue and I did not want

to seem like we were avoiding that.

What I can say in this session is that we are

doing some of it.

Okay. I do want to address that part of your

question. too.

First of all, I very much take your point about the fact that while

some countries are contributing by providing planes or other kinds

of support, there is an opportunity for other countries that are not

doing that to provide financial support. We are very conscious of

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that, and very much engaged with other countries to make sure

that they find a way to support it.

Well, thank you, Congressman. And as you correctly

guessed, that is what I was going to go on to say if i had

a bit more time. And I know how pressed we are for time.

But first of all, as you say, no situations are identical, but there

are some important similarities between the situation in Kosovo

because we did intervene there, it was done as a part of a coalition,

it was done with NATO, it demonstrated our commitment to work

with our allies in a situation. It was also a case in which we defined

the military mission in the narrow terms, which was to stop

the ethnic cleansing, stop the humanitarian crises that was caused

by Milosevic’s attacks on the citizens of Kosovo. But we stopped the

military operation when the humanitarian goal was achieved and

the forces were withdrawn. But that did not mean we said we are

just going to leave Milosevic in place and we do not care what happens.

We understood the risk of his continued presence there, and

so we continued the sanctions, we continued other forms of pressure.

And working with the democratic forces in Serbia we led 1

year later, it did not happen overnight but 1 year later he was

ousted from power. So I think this idea that we can a different set

of objectives for the military dimension and a broader dimension is

one that has been validated. It does not guarantee we will succeed

here, but it is a powerful lesson that the strategy can work, and

that is what we are trying to pursue here.

As you also said, I had hoped to say a word about our attempt

to build a long-term democracy in Libya because I know there are

concerns about the Transitional National Council, and it is important

that as this evolves that this evolves beyond the individuals

who are now taking on that role to be inclusive, to be broad-based,

to be tolerate, to be committed to the kinds of principles of human

rights, rejection of extremism and violence that we all believe in.

And that is part of the reasons that we do engage with the Council

is to make clear that we do look forward to that kind of success,

but it has to be a broad-based one and one consistent with our

principles.

I think what we have seen through the Middle East when we do

engage and we support those processes we have a chance of succeeding

and we are planning for it now. It is something we do understand

that we cannot just wait until the moment arises. But

that is part of the purpose of our engagement with both folks on

the Council and others who are interested in the future of Libya.

Congressman, let me start with the last, which

is that we obviously welcome the support of the Congress here. But

as you know, Presidents of both parties have viewed their authority

as Commander in Chief to use military force when it is limited in

scope and duration. We have used it in Libya before where there

was a limited scope and duration operation.

So, we have consulted closely with Congress. We would look forward

to working with Congress on this. And again, we would welcome

their support.

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In terms of the interest, in my opening statement I quote the

President because I think it is a very clear statement of how he

sees the strategic interests. And I could repeat it, but I want to

spend the time here——

Again, and that is my point, is that Presidents

have viewed when the involvement is limited in scope and duration,

that they have the constitutional authority to do it. And one

of the things that is remarkable——

Right. And I think what is distinctive about this,

and there have been a number of instances, I just mentioned Libya

because it is not the first time we have engaged in Libya. But that

we have already significantly moved forward to reduce the scope

and duration of our activity. To move it to NATO control is a reflection

of that. And I think the President is very conscious of the fact

that this is the way he has defined the mission.

And so, as you said, it is important that we define the mission.

As I was discussing earlier with Congressman Meeks, we have examples

in the past where we have used limited force for a humanitarian

mission and at the same time pursued the broader political

objective as we did in Kosovo, and succeeded in our mission——

Well, Congressman, as I said before, I mean this

President and all Presidents read the War Powers resolution consistent

with their constitutional authorities under Article II. And

although I am aware of my training will be on the war faculty as

well as my own faculty when I get to Syracuse, I am not here to

represent the legal opinion of the administration.

But I would say that we consulted the Congress, we provided the

notification that is consistent with the War Powers Act within 48

hours after the beginning of hostilities. So we are following the

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practice that administrations in the past have followed in terms of

how we engage with Congress on these kinds of activities.

I think, Congressman, that when the President

engages in the use of military forces where the action is limited in

scope and duration, that he has authority under the Constitution

to do that. Having said that, we are mindful of the War Powers

resolution and we have acted consistent with it.

It is my understanding. I am not here as a Justice

witness. But that the position of previous administrations of

both parties is that they have had the practice of acting consistently

with the War Powers Act while reserving the authorities that

they saw of the President.

His authority as Commander in Chief.

Again, Congressman, I am here acting not as the

lawyer, but the client. But my understanding of the position of the

Justice Department, the Office of Legal Counsel is that when the

use of military activity, military force, is limited in scope and duration

the President has certain powers under the Constitution. But

they are defined, and the test is when the action is limited in scope

and duration.

You are a good lawyer, Congressman, and you

know that it is that the authority to declare war is with Congress,

and that is obviously the matter that we are discussing——

It is a longstanding conversation.

And executive branch is——

This is something I know a number have asked,

and I think at this point what I would say is that: (1) The assets

were frozen for the benefit of the Libyan people. I think it is a conversation

that we will have with both the existing Transitional National

Council. Other countries have had frozen assets. And what

we hope is a democratic government in Libya to find a good resolution

that reflects the fact that there are many ways in which that

could be done for the benefit of the Libyan people.

We are having an ongoing conversation. No decisions have been

made.

Yes.

Congresswoman, I know how strongly Secretary

Clinton feels about this, too. And working with the Justice Department

and others it is something that we definitely intend to pursue.

Obviously, you know for us the issue of precisely

what would constitute occupation for us does not really arise because

the President has made a policy decision that he does not intend

to send ground troops. So, I think if there were an intention

or somehow if things would change, which I have absolutely no reason

to expect I think the President has been clear about it, obviously

that is something that we would welcome a conversation with

Congress about. But I find it very difficult to imagine, given the

strong position the President has taken on it, that that issue is

likely to arise.

It does not authorize an occupation force. It does

not call for any. So what it says is all necessary means to help the

civilians, but it does not authorize an occupation force. So it is just

a limit on what is otherwise a very broad grant of authority to the

international community to use military force.

Well, thank you, Congresswoman.

But I would say first, and I have not mentioned this before, not

only have we had conversation with Congress, but there have been

significant expressions of support including by the other body on

this issue.

The other thing I would say is the President I think could not

have been clearer about ground troops. And more importantly,

what you see already a reduction in our military activities there.

As we move forward with this transition, the United States is stepping

back from the front line. We are focusing on providing support

by things like intelligence and those kinds of things.

So, I think the President has lived up to his commitment to the

American people and to the Congress that this is a limited effort,

that we are reducing our scope and far from moving in the direction

that I know you are concerned about. We are moving, actually,

in the other direction which is to reduce the U.S. military role

there.

At this point, Congresswoman, I could only say

that the President has made clear to all of us in the administration

that he has no intention of doing that.

Thank you.

Thank you.

Sure. First, in some ways from our perspective

the transition to NATO command gives us the best of both worlds,

which is that we are able now to step back, to leave the principal

responsibility for enforcing the no fly zone and the protection of civilians

to other forces, both NATO and the associated forces that

are working under NATO command and control. And we will focus

on support activities like intelligence and reconnaissance, and the

like. So, we are definitely playing a less front line role in terms of

the operation of military activities.

At the same time, we get the benefit of the well established, well

oiled machine that can conduct effective military activities. And

even for the limited role we can be assured that our forces are

under American command because ultimately all the forces are

under Admiral Stavridis who is American Admiral.

So, we have an opportunity for us to play less of an operational

role, but still have the benefits of a well established and disciplined

NATO command and control.

In terms of the transition this is enormously important to us. Because

while we are working with the Transitional National Council

and we appreciate the efforts that they have made to step up to

try to provide some leadership and some coherence here, that ultimately

this has to be broadened. And as we move forward and have

an opportunity to have a real democratic transition there, we need

to make sure it is broad-based, we need to make sure that the different

voices are represented, we need to make sure that it is consistent

with the basic principles that we apply everywhere and the

same things we are looking for in Egypt and Tunisia and throughout

the Middle East. And that is a critical part of our engagement.

And we have been encouraged by the dialogue that we have had

with the membership of the Transitional National Council, their

willingness to articulate a set of principles which I think we could

all feel very comfortable about.

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I know members want to see the delivery as well as the words,

and that is fair. We need to make sure that this is not just paper

declarations by them, but that they carry it out. And that is something

that we will work on. And so we are beginning to work with

the Council, with forces and voices outside of Libya with neighboring

governments, with NGOs to begin the process so that we are

ready to go when that day comes that the process can move forward.

Thank you, Congressman.

You know, I think we can hear these claims by Awlaki and

Qaradawi and others, but the truth is what we have seen throughout

the region is that these movements, whether it is in Egypt and

Tunisia, are not being driven by al-Qaeda or others. These are

democratic forces. And they may want to try to claim it because

they are behind the curve on this. And I think they are trying to

catch up because they do not have the support. And what we have

heard from our engagement with the Transitional National Council

is they are not looking to al-Qaeda. They have rejected al-Qaeda.

They issued a very strong statement the other day.

So I would take these statements as a sign of groups that desperately

want to be seen in the vanguard of these things because

they are afraid it is moving in a direction that is against them. And

that, in fact, our values, our principles are on the ascendancy.

When you read the words that the Transitional National Council

issued, those are words that would resonate for Americans and for

people who believe in freedom and democracy.

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So, I do not take their statements as somehow reflecting the fact

that they own these movements. And as Congressman Rohrabacher

earlier suggested, it is precisely because we are engaged and supporting

these movements that they have a future, they look to us

in the West as being their partners and being on their side. So we

have to be attentive, we have to be alert.

We know that al-Qaeda has had a presence in Libya in the past.

We want to make sure it does not reestablish it there. But what

we have seen so far is that this is not a significant factor. That this

is not something that the people we are engaging seem to want.

And we need to stay vigilant, but we need to also not let the rhetoric

of others who want to try to hijack this dissuade us from——

Well, Congressman, I think it is our challenge to

help shape that and help try to bring that about. I think we cannot

know for certain. And, obviously, Libya is a country that has suffered

tremendous destruction of its social infrastructure, the political

infrastructure over 40 years. So it will be a struggle for them

to build the kind of community and the kind of democracy that is

more than just an election, but has civil society and it has protection

of human rights. But that is why we need to be. That is why

we need to be part of this, and that is why we need to help shape

it and support those voices who issued these statements that are

consistent with our values.

I think our presence, our engagement, our support increases the

chances that we will have that kind of outcome, just as it has been

the case in all these other transitions that are taking place. That

is why we are committed to doing it.

If I could make a little commercial here. I think it is important

as you consider your budget deliberations to make sure that we

have the resources to support democratic moves, to support NGO,

to support the rule of law, to support anti-terrorism; all of those

forces that will allow us to be an effective force going forward.

You know, I think that it is obviously early days,

yes. And you have heard from others members that they have

heard that from the Transitional National Council.

I think that what we are now focused on is what needs to be

done to help them support it, and obviously if the outcome of this

is that they see that as something that they would choose to do.

But part of the reason we have been trying to be careful about this

is because we do not want to be seen as telling them what is best

for them. But on the other hand, encouraging them to do the right

thing and move in the right direction. And we want to work with

them and others to achieve the result. But I certainly understand

the sentiments that have been expressed.

Thank you, Congresswoman. And I think those

are very good and serious questions.

I would say first on the issue of getting Ghadafi out, I think we

share your view. I do not think we think that it would be a stable

or a successful outcome for Ghadafi to stay. But as I said talking

earlier about the situation in Kosovo, we demonstrated in the past

that you could have a military operation that is designed to blunt

the humanitarian capacity as we saw in Kosovo, and an ongoing

and political and economic strategy that can ultimately lead to the

leader going.

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And what happened in Kosovo was very much a pattern that we

hope will happen here, and we think we have the same kinds of

tools and opportunity to do that.

With respect to support for the opposition, I think you have

raised the right questions, which is why on the one hand we believe

very clearly that under the second Security Council resolution

that there is an option that is available to provide support for the

opposition. But if we were to do that or if others were to do it, we

want to make sure that it would serve our broader interests in creating

a democratic state of Libya. Those are the questions that we

are discussing with ourselves, with others, and that is something

that we have not yet made a decision about.

Congresswoman, the President addressed that in

his speech and I had an opportunity earlier today to talk about

that as well.

I think we made very clear that Libya is a very specific case, and

it is not simply the humanitarian dimension, although it is an important

one. But as the President said, the instability in Libya

threatened the democratic transitions that were taking place in

Egypt and Tunisia, and I do not think anybody would dispute that

we have a tremendous interest in making sure that we have a stable

and a democratic Egypt.

Second, we have a situation where we had the appeal of the regional

organization, the Arab League, which is a very strong situation

which is not the case with respect to some of these other humanitarian

situation that we are dealing with. And there was an

opportunity for the United States to play a limited role here to support

the efforts of others.

So, each case has to be taken on its own terms.

We have a deep engagement on Dhofar we are involved. In the

Sudan we have helped broker the Comprehensive Peace Agreement

which is now moving forward. And we are involved in trying to

support that in Dhofar.

And Coˆte d’Ivoire the same. We passed a new Security Council

resolution yesterday that tightened the measures there which we

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hope will lead to the validation of President Quattara and the end

of the humanitarian situation there.

So each situation has to be dealt with in terms of our national

interests and the tools that are available.